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ABSTRACT

This policy paper, prepared for the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention and focused on institutional strategies for prevention of juvenile delinquency, begins with a definition of delinquency prevention and a framework which classifies delinquency theories according to the individual, social institutions, or social interaction. The types of community and school programs for delinquency prevention in existence today are described and advice is offered to program planners and policy makers. A major section on the evaluation of delinquency prevention programs emphasizes individual counseling, recreation, instruction, police-school-community relations, youth advocacy, and opportunity enhancement. A discussion of strategies and techniques for prevention summarizes some major findings of a national assessment of delinquency prevention programs. (CS)

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STRATEGIES TO PREVENT DELINQUENCY AND ENHANCE POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

POLICY PAPER
PREPARED FOR THE

OFFICE OF JUVENILE JUSTICE AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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I. DELINQUENCY PREVENTION: THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION

A. Introduction

There is little question among both academicians and practitioners that the terms "delinquency" and "prevention" are largely imprecise, ambiguous, and difficult to operationalize for any worthwhile practical purposes. Further, while delinquency is a legal term, the variations that exist among the jurisdictions throughout the U.S. provides one little help in understanding the phenomenon. As it is popularly used, the term "delinquency" includes such a wide range of behavior that it is practically useless for research purposes and of questionable value for purposes of prevention efforts. In the coming decade, the need to differentiate between the varied patterns of delinquency will become an important element of criminological research and juvenile delinquency prevention programs. While there are definitional issues associated with behavior that is in violation of a wide range of laws and ordinances, it is important to keep in mind that much research based on both official rates of delinquency as well as self-report studies has shown that the majority of adolescents engage in delinquent acts sometime during their adolescent years.[1] Further, while many of the adolescents who have official contact with the police are from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, the evidence that delinquency is found among all levels of the economic system is quite substantial.[2] The implications of these findings for delinquency prevention programs cannot be ignored. To orient such programs to only officially adjudicated delinquents or chronic offenders will ignore the fact that a large proportion of delinquent acts are never officially observed and/or recorded.

In addition to the confusion generated by the meaning of delinquency in research studies, the problem of defining delinquency may also affect the development of delinquency prevention programs. Spergel, for example,

argues that the term delinquency:

> ...is just as variable and complex as community. In fact, it may be even more variable within a community than across the juvenile-justice system. There appears to be no across the board operational definition of delinquents or predelinquents in community based programs. It is not at all clear what a community program to prevent or to treat delinquents really is or should be.[3]

Studies, evaluations, and descriptions of juvenile delinquency programs throughout the country rarely define the kinds of behavior included under the definition of delinquency, nor except in a few cases, are there well developed strategies to deal with the differential nature of delinquency. Whatever the classification, however, almost all prevention programs include that behavior defined in the juvenile delinquency laws of their respective states.

B. The Need for Prevention

There is little point in undertaking a detailed discussion of the rise in crime in the U.S. Regardless of one's faith or skepticism in crime statistics, there is near universal agreement that crime has continued to increase over the last decade, and that much of this increase is the result of juvenile crime. Concern over the existence of crime is not a recent phenomenon, but a concern expressed both by community leaders and scholars for the last twenty-five years. The importance of "prevention" as highlighted in the statement made by the President's Commission in 1967, and noted below is still applicable today.

> In the last analysis, the most promising and so the most important method of dealing with crime is by preventing it - by ameliorating the conditions of life that drive people to commit crimes and that undermine the restraining rules and institutions erected by society against anti-social conduct.[4]

Although the orientation to prevention is clearly evident throughout the Task Force Report, the confusion associated with delinquency prevention programs in the 1950's and early 60's was widespread. In the same year that the Task Force Report (1967) was released, Peter Lejins claimed that:

> ...the field of prevention is by far the least developed area of criminology. Current popular views are naive, vague, mostly erroneous, and for the most part devoid of any awareness of research findings; there is a demand for action on the basis of general moralistic beliefs, discarded criminological theories of bygone days, and other equally invalid opinions and reasons. In scientific and professional circles the subject of prevention has received remarkably little attention. Even the basic concepts in the field of prevention lack precision. There has been very little theory-building, and attempted research under such circumstances has failed to produce any significant results.[5)]

In his review of the field of prevention, Lejins cites the need to distinguish between "prevention" and "control" and urges that the concept of control be restricted to:

> any action concerning an offender taken as a result of his having committed an offense...even if it interrupts the continuation of criminal behavior and thereby forestalls future criminal acts.[6)]

While it is necessary to distinguish between prevention and control, the distinctions are not always explicit in practice. Some agencies claiming to be preventive organizations are actually involved in the treatment of adjudicated delinquents, while some "treatment" agencies are involved in the development of preventive activities for those children considered to be "pre-delinquent" or having high probabilities of being defined as delinquent. Because the use of the term "prevention" has not always been defined by theorists as well as practitioners, it is difficult to establish mutually exclusive categories of preventive and treatment activities, thus

adding to the confusion that has dominated the field of delinquency prevention for the last forty years. For our purposes, this report will utilize the definition of prevention currently being used by the Advisory Committee on Standards, established by the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, which defines the term in the following manner:

DEFINITION OF PREVENTION

Delinquency prevention is a process and the activities resulting from that process directed at encouraging law-abiding conduct and reducing the incidence of criminal activity of all youth under 18 years of age, except those who are receiving services, on other than a voluntary basis as a result of contact with the juvenile justice system.

Delinquency prevention efforts should be focused on assisting those youth who lack appropriate access to family, school and community conditions that encourage law-abiding behavior.

Notes

1) See Marvin E. Wolfgang, et al., "Delinquency in a Birth Cohort" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972); Albert P. Cardarelli, "Socio-Economic Status and Delinquency and Adult Criminality in a Birth Cohort," unpublished dissertation (University of Pennsylvania, 1973); and Robert H. Hardt and George E. Bodine, "Development of Self-Report Instruments in Delinquency Research," published by the Youth Development Center, Syracuse University, 1965.

2) For a collection of materials see in addition to the above sources: Edmund Vaz, ed., Middle-Class Juvenile Delinquency (New York: Harper & Row, 1967); see also J.J. Conger, W.C. Miller, R.V. Rainey and C.R. Walsmith, "Personality, Social Class and Delinquency" (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966); Jerome G. Miller, "Research and Theory in Middle-Class Delinquency," The British Journal of Criminology, Vol. 10, No. 1, 1970, pp. 33-51; Bertram Spiller, "Delinquency and Middle Class Goals," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, Vol. 56, No. 4, 1965, pp. 463-478; and John P. Clark and Eugene P. Wenninger, "Socio-Economic Class and Area as Correlates of Illegal Behavior among Juveniles," The American Sociological Review, Vol. 27 (December 1962), pp. 826-834.

3) Irving A. Spergel, "Community-based Delinquency Prevention Programs: An Overview," Social Service Review, Vol. 47 (1) 1973, pp. 16-31.

4) "Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime," The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 41.

5) Peter P. Lejins, "The Field of Prevention" in Delinquency Prevention: Theory and Practice, op. cit., pp. 1-21.

6) Ibid., p. 2.

II. TOWARD A GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF DELINQUENCY THEORIES

A. Introduction

Even a cursory analysis of the literature on delinquency and criminality reveals a wide variety of theoretical perspectives that attempt to delineate the "causal" conditions leading to the onset and persistence of delinquency. An examination of these theories indicates that most are system-specific in nature (i.e., biophysical, personality, or social system oriented) although more recent theories recognize the dynamic interchange that exists between these systems.

Though the primary focus of this review is directed toward institutional strategies for prevention, efforts will be directed first to those "causal" reasons that have been identified as explanations for the existence of delinquent behavior and which have been prominant in the literature dealing with the etiology and prevention of delinquency. These perspectives are described in broad, general terms and include a range of theories within each category. The general framework of prevention strategies presented below served as a guide for assessing delinquency prevention efforts in conjunction with the National Evaluation Program Assessment of Prevention Programs in the U.S.[1)]

For purposes of the National Evaluation effort, theories were classified on the basis of their major focal point; that is, whether it was: (a) the individual, where the emphasis of the theorist is on that organization of variables described by such constructs as self, character, personality, etc.; (b) social institutions, where the emphasis of the theorist is on the institutional structure and the person's status and role within a differentiated society; or (c) social interaction, where the emphasis

of the theorist is on the interaction (in terms of meaning and consequences) linking the individual to both criminal and non-criminal individuals, groups, and agencies. Each of these categories is briefly described in the following paragraphs.

1. The Individual as Focal Point. The study of deviance is replete with explanations based on the analysis of "special characteristics" of the deviant, whether the person is classified as "delinquent", "homosexual", or "mentally ill". Included within this perspective are the wide range of psychological and psychoanalytic theories that have attempted to chart the motivational, emotional, and attitudinal complexes behind deviant behavior. Although there are theoretical differences between those theories classified as psychological, psychiatric, or psychoanalytic, all focus their efforts on distinguishing "kinds of persons," and "kinds of situations" that are likely to predispose the individual to engage in deviant behavior. Thus, the essential focal point of these theories is on the person or self, and the intrapsychic variables that contribute to deviant behavior. Under this perspective, diagnosis and treatment are based on personality theories with emphasis on increased self-understanding so that the individual can function in a prosocial manner in the home, the school, work, and/or the community. Strategies that fall within this perspective have included the following: (a) counseling and/or therapy - individual or family, (b) social casework techniques, (c) behavioral therapies (behavior modification techniques), (d) techniques for the improvement of self-image.

2. Social Institutions as Focal Points. While psychologists and psychoanalysts tend to orient their efforts to the personality system, sociologists concentrate primarily on the properties of the cultural and/or social systems. Emphasis is directed to the manner in which these systems

generate tendencies or motives within the individual to either conform or deviate from the norms or standards of conduct established by the moral demand systems to which the individual has been exposed -- socialized. Sociologists, in general, assume that each of us behaves in the context of social situations that provide definitions of actions as either right or wrong, and that these definitions help to establish a set of expectations and anticipations for preserving social order.[2] Following this, most sociological theories of deviance focus on the social and cultural conditions that effect the institutional patterns as well as the social/cultural and ecological relations that take place within these institutions. Such explanations have been oriented toward the macro-cultural and social variables (e.g., anomie, culture conflict, socio-economic patterns, values) that affect delinquency, as well as those situational variables that define the locale and/or the social setting for an individual to engage in delinquency (e.g., the peer group and neighborhood settings).[3] Under this perspective, emphasis is on societal and institutional reform and/or change so that families can raise children who function in a prosocial manner in society. Strategies incorporating this perspective have included (a) educational, recreational and vocational programs, (b) alternative schools, (c) police-school liaison officers, (d) youth advocacy programs, (e) job training and placement programs, (f) remedial tutoring.

3. Social Interaction as Focal Point. In recent years, renewed attention has been given to the character and quality of the social reactions that occur between the labeled deviant and other individuals and/or agencies.[4] Foremost in this orientation are the "labeling", and "societal reaction," approaches. Although the terminologies may indicate different orientations to some, the prevailing emphasis is "more concerned with what

is made of an act socially than with the factors that may have led particular individuals into the behavior in the first place."[5] In essence, the major focus of the social interaction perspective is on the impact of the social structure in terms of the definitional processes on the individual deviant. Included within this perspective are those theories that focus upon the extent and quality of the relationships that occur within families, peer groups, interracial groups, etc. Strategies, while less specific in nature than those previously noted, include (a) de-emphasis on labeling, (b) statutory changes and reform (decriminalization of "victimless" offenses, minor drug use, prostitution, and "status offenses), and (c) non-intervention techniques (i.e. leaving the kids alone whenever possible).

The increasing emphasis on the negative aspects associated with the labeling process has, in fact, provided much of the rationale for diverting juveniles and first offenders out of the criminal justice system, and has led to increased concern with the manner in which society uses rules and processes to define individuals as delinquent.[6] Under this perspective, emphasis is on increasing society's flexibility and tolerance toward juvenile misconduct, while decreasing the negative stigmatization associated with the official labeling of such behavior.

B. Summary

While the above discussion indicates that it is clearly possible to prevent delinquency by addressing any number of strategies, this review will focus upon those strategies that impact on the social institutions and have as their objective the expansion of legitimate opportunities and the provision of legitimate identities. This orientation is consistent with

the direction advocated by the President's Commission in 1967 where it was noted that: "It is insuring opportunity that is the basic goal of prevention programs."[7)]

It should also be noted that an address to the institutional structures need not be directed to the negative aspects of these structures, but can, as Polk and Kobrin note, specify how legitimate pursuits are cultivated. For them, it is possible to define prevention as an attempt: (1) to identify these institutional characteristics and processes most inclined to produce legitimate identities and non-predatory behaviors in people, (2) to restructure existing institutions or build new ones so that these desirable features are enhanced, and (3) to discard those features that tend to foster criminal behaviors and identities.[8)] This orientation is consistent with the definition of prevention presented in section I above.

Finally, it should be stressed that in spite of the difficulties associated with the translation of theory into practice, it is important to establish a framework within which it is possible to develop logical linkages between the stated or implied assumptions as to the "reasons" for delinquency and the strategies that are utilized to prevent or control this behavior.

Notes

1) See "The Theory and Practice of Delinquency Prevention in the United States: Review, Synthesis and Assessment," Prepared by Jerry P. Walker, Albert P. Cardarelli, and Dennis L. Billingsley for the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, January 1976.

2) See Philip Rieff, The Triumph of the Therapeutic: Uses of Faith After Freud, (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).

3) See Albert K. Cohen, Deviance and Control, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966) for a general review of the sociological approach to deviance.

4) For an early work on the importance of labeling and one that is still relevant, see Frank Tannenbaum, Crime and the Community (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1938).

5) Edwin M. Schur, Radical Non-Intervention -- Rethinking the Delinquency Problem, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), p. 119.

6) Ibid., pp. 61-63.

7) "Task Force Report," op. cit., p. 41.

8) Kenneth Polk and Solomon Kobrin, Delinquency Prevention Through Youth Development, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, May 1972.

III. NEIGHBORHOOD STRATEGIES FOR DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

A. Introduction: Early Efforts

The concern with the socializing institutions as the major loci for the implementation of prevention strategies has a long history in the U.S., beginning most noticeably with the establishment in 1934, of the Chicago Area Project which was to become the prototype for community prevention programs during the next thirty years. In establishing the project Clifford Shaw, one of the founders, was guided by two major assumptions which are still relevant today:

- Delinquency in most cases was the product of the simple and direct processes of social learning.
- Adolescents alienated from the traditional institutions of the community may resort to delinquency as a means of gaining status in an established group.[1)]

While there is not an abundant amount of detailed research evaluation of the Area Project, Irving Spergel in an analysis of the project points to the limited role of the community in the following statement:

> ...the area project idea in its community dimension did not catch on immediately outside of Chicago. At the present time [1972], while a score of local community committees under the aegis of the Chicago Area Project still exist, it is questionable whether they have continued to be successful at either community organization or delinquency control.[2)]

Although the neighborhoods of today may have become too complex, the earlier concern with delinquency, especially delinquent gangs, is largely responsible for the creation of the "detached worker" concept which gained popularity in many urban areas during the late 1950's and early 1960's. Programs of this nature are based on the recognition that for many delinquent gangs conventional recreational activities are not appealing or ex-

citing, and that alternative activities must be developed which are not threatening to the existence and structure of the gang itself. Despite the fact that this approach has gained widespread support among practitioners, there is some evidence that it may be ineffective in preventing delinquency. Malcolm Klein in an analysis of the Group Guidance Project in Los Angeles concluded:

> that the Group Guidance Project had the overall effect of increasing the number of recorded offenses committed by gangs included in its program.[3]

In explaining the results, Klein hypothesized that the process of group programming, especially in the absence of those activities that provide an escape from gang activities, may in fact lead to greater levels of gang member delinquency.[4] While Klein argues that this hypothesis is only suggestive, his concluding remarks need to be thoughtfully considered in terms of their implications for social policy. To Klein:

> ...factors increasing gang cohesiveness, of which worker emphasis on group programming is one, will lead to increased gang recruitment and delinquency. This conclusion from the Group Guidance Project, when taken together with the finding of the few other detached-worker programs to receive independent evaluation, suggest that the detached-worker approach should be subjected to either severe modification or total abandonment. More emphasis must be placed on development of activities alternative to gang participation. The well-entrenched practice of using group processes to transform group values and behavior simply is not suited to the juvenile gang phenomenon, or at least to established traditional gangs. The product of these processes is damaging to the gang members and the society.[5]

Summary. There is no doubt in reviewing the prevention efforts prior to 1960 that there were many community programs established to prevent juvenile delinquency and to steer young people into pro-social activities. It is also clear that the effort had very little impact on the character and

extent of delinquency, and still less on those adolescents who not only were more likely to engage in delinquency, but who were also more vulnerable to official apprehension and labeling -- the poor and minority groups from the large urban areas of America.

The piecemeal approach to delinquency prevention was the rule rather than the exception prior to 1960. Many agencies were concerned with their own self-interests, and were unable (or unwilling) to engage in a coordinated approach to delinquency prevention.[6] In addition to this lack of inter-agency cooperation, there was also the lack of any common frame of reference. The antagonisms between those who emphasized individual treatment and those who argued for neighborhood participation and development cannot be dismissed, nor can the ideological differences between practitioner and researcher be ignored.

B. Delinquency Prevention Through Opportunity Enhancement and Youth Development

The early 1960's not only saw the beginnings of a new political legacy, but it also witnessed the callings of civil rights advocates for equal opportunity in all spheres of life. Under this ideological climate it not only was beneficial for the government to extend this concept to providing opportunities to the young of America as a means of preventing delinquency, it was also politically expedient.

1. Opportunity Enhancement and Delinquency Prevention. Marris and Rein, in a thoughtful analysis of community action programs, trace the programs funded by The Ford Foundation in the late 1950's and early 1960's to the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency established by President Kennedy in 1961. According to both authors, the youth program component of The Ford Foundation Grey Area Projects was influenced to a

large extent by Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin who had just completed their work, Delinquency and Opportunity .[8] Further, it was on the basis of their involvement that the National Institute for Mental Health provided a two-year planning grant to establish Mobilization for Youth in New York.[9] Both played a major role in that the Juvenile Delinquency Act of 1961 reflected the ideas and assumptions on which Delinquency and Opportunity were based; its preamble emphasizing the relationship of delinquency to unemployment and educational attainment.[10] It was during this same period that many delinquency programs shifted their emphasis from treating psychological disorders within the child to developing programs that provided youth with legitimate opportunities that could compete with illegitimate ones. By 1964, through the combined efforts of The Ford Foundation and the President's Committee, seventeen community action agencies were in existence in addition to Mobilization for Youth, Inc. It was these projects which became a model for the community action agencies established under the Economic Opportunity Act during the Johnson Administration.

Unfortunately, however, as the data were gathered, the projects began to recognize that they were failing not only to keep youth interested, but were unable to keep them out of trouble in their communities. The major reasons offered for these results included (1) the lack of legitimate opportunities in the community, and (2) the competition given by attractive illegitimate opportunities.

2. Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention. While there was a major thrust toward "poverty" programs after 1964, there was still deep concern for the continuing increase in the rates of delinquency in most urban areas. By 1970, the Commissioner of the then Office of Youth Delin-

quency Prevention Administration (HEW) proposed a direction for delinquency prevention under the title "National Strategy for Youth Development", with emphasis on reducing the conditions which lead to the performance of delinquent activities. Stressing those factors that result in a positive and productive role in society, the elements of the National Strategy included the following: (a) Provide increased access to desirable social roles in the social institutions in the community, (b) Prevent premature or otherwise inappropriate negative labeling with special emphasis on the juvenile justice system, (c) To reduce alienation among adolescents.[11] These elements became the major basis for the shift in emphasis from "diversion" as a process to reduce and prevent delinquency, to "delinquency prevention through youth development," with primary emphasis on the formal and informal socializing institutions.[12] The major objectives of delinquency prevention should be therefore to establish routes to youth opportunity and legitimate identities within the major socializing institutions of our society.

Given this direction, LaMar Empey argues that if these institutions are to be more effective then delinquency prevention programs should consider the following assumptions as crucial to prevention.

1. the primary focus of prevention efforts should be upon the establishment among young people of a legitimate identity;

2. a legitimate identity among young people is most likely to occur if they have a stake in conformity;

3. the cultivation in young people of a legitimate identity and a stake in conformity requires that they be provided with socially acceptable, responsible, and personally gratifying roles;

4. a rational strategy of delinquency reduction and control must address the task of institutional change.[13]

While it is obvious that there are important constraints toward institutional change, Polk and Kobrin make a strong argument for using the school as a major institution for prevention as we will note below.

C. The School and Delinquency Prevention

The importance of the school as an institution capable of direct intervention cannot be overstated. The school generally has the student captivated for some forty hours per week, and has the potential to develop a wide range of programs to modify both behavior and intellectual performance. It is the major social institution outside the family that affects youth behavior. and has a major impact on the social and self-definitions of the individual.

1. Existing School Programs in Delinquency Prevention. In 1973 in a survey of 219 school superintendents and boards of education throughout the U.S., Richard Knudten found that delinquency prevention programs are highly varied and largely dependent upon the outlook and organization of the school system.[14] Knudten lists twenty-five categories of programs that currently exist in many school systems; and while the variation is diverse, the major thrust in delinquency prevention is still oriented toward counseling programs mostly involving individualized and intensive counseling and/or guidance programs.[15] Other programs that are fairly widespread involve: drug abuse and drug education programs, and programs that promote an interchange between police and the students, such as "Officer Friendly" type activities.[16] Knudten also found that few schools had regarded delinquency prevention as a teacher function or had any working relationship with the juvenile court;[17] and that formal school programs in reentry guidance and counseling for returning students are quite scarce.[18] In concluding his analysis, Knudten notes that (1) only limited planned pro-

grams dealing with delinquency prevention are in operation in the schools, (2) that the majority of school personnel have little understanding of delinquency or its prevention, and (3) that the most common activity related to prevention involves school counseling programs which are normally located in the high schools.[19)]

2. The School as Focal Point of Prevention. Polk and Kobrin in their analysis of "Delinquency Prevention Through Youth Development," argue for using the school as a major institution for prevention since it is frequently the focal point in the neighborhood for cultural and recreational activities. By establishing linkages with other legitimate institutions in the neighborhood, many school functions could be performed more effectively and efficiently. It is important for policy makers to realize that the isolation of the school from neighborhood agencies and activities may actually impede the school from helping children achieve their full potential in both social and educational activities. In this sense, program planners should consider the utilization of youth service agencies or multi-service agencies already established within the neighborhoods. Effective inter-agency coordination may not only facilitate the implementation of innovative programs, but may result in real and meaningful youth development.

The importance of the school is also manifest in a number of studies which indicate that poor academic achievement may be related to official delinquency. Polk, in an extensive review of delinquency and academic success among lower-class adolescents, notes that lower class youth experience academic failure more often and have fewer parental and peer pressures to remain within the legitimate system than middle or upper class students.[20)] Thus, the school becomes the major institution for either helping the youth

maintain his legitimate identity (especially with middle-class adolescents), or for acquiring a negative identity (especially with lower-class inner city adolescents). The importance of the school in the development of the individual's sense of self and feelings of achievement is also noted by Empey when he states that:

> ...the school may now be the most important youth institution and source of socialization in society, although its potential is seldom fully realized. Without it, young persons are denied access to the roles that establish them as legitimate, meaningful people, with consequences that can be disastrous both in the short and the long run.[21]

While there are some stated cautions as to how effective the school can be in preventing delinquency without compromising its larger function,[22] there can be little doubt about its potential role in creating and sustaining norm-violating behavior that may result in the adolescent's being labeled as "troublesome", "a problem", or a "delinquent".

Summary. It is not the intent of the above analysis to present an exhaustive or detailed analysis of delinquency prevention programs in school systems throughout the U.S.; such efforts have already been carried out in other studies.[23] Further, it is not our intent to provide a detailed analysis of the major issues associated with delinquency and education; such a project is clearly beyond the scope of this paper. Rather, our intent involves the following developments:

1. The need for neighborhoods not only to emphasize positive youth development but to provide real and meaningful opportunities for its youth.
2. To recognize the importance of the school as a major institution in the development of positive self-identities.
3. To urge schools to develop mechanisms for fuller integration into the neighborhood, and for greater cooperation with other service agencies.

4. To point out the need for school systems to undertake new and innovative strategies to reform the school as well as the student.

5. To urge the schools to make it possible for students to participate not only in constructive community programs, but in policy decisions as well.

Notes

1) Ernest W. Burgess, Joseph D. Lohman, and Clifford R. Shaw, "The Chicago Area Project," in Coping with Crime: Year Book of the National Probation Association: 1937 (New York: The National Probation Association, 1938), pp. 8-28.

2) Irving Spergel, "Community Based Delinquency Prevention Programs: An Overview," Social Service Review, Vol. 47 (No. 1), 1973, pp. 16-23. See also Solomon Kobrin, "The Chicago Area Project--A 23 Year Assessment," in Norman Johnston, et al., The Sociology of Punishment and Correction, 2nd ed., (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1970), pp. 577-586.

3) Malcolm W. Klein, "Gang Cohesiveness, Delinquency and a Street-Work Program," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 6, No. 2 (July 1969), pp. 135-166.

4) Ibid., p. 166.

5) Ibid., p. 166.

6) Walter B. Miller, "Inter-Institutional Conflict as a Major Impediment to Delinquency Prevention," Human Organization, Vol. 17 (Fall 1958), pp. 20-23.

7) Peter Marris and Martin Rein, Dilemmas of Social Reform: Poverty and Community Action in the United States (New York: Atherton Press, 1967).

8) Ibid., p. 19.

9) Ibid., p. 20.

10) Ibid., p. 22.

11) Robert M. Hunter, "Assumptions Behind and Structural Requisites for A Youth Services System," (mimeo), July 1973.

12) Kenneth Polk and Solomon Kobrin, "Delinquency Prevention through Youth

13) Development," U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, May 1972, p. 8.

14) Richard D. Knudten, "An Examination of Existing and Proposed Delinquency Prevention in the Schools," in Strategies for Delinquency Prevention in the Schools, Stanley L. Brodsky and Richard D. Knudten (eds.) (University of Alabama, 1973), pp. 41-86.

15) Ibid., p. 52.

16) Ibid., p. 58.

17) Ibid., p. 59.

18) Ibid., p. 59.

19) Ibid., p. 77.

20) Kenneth Polk and Walter E. Schafer, "Schools and Delinquency," op. cit., p. 172.

21) LaMar T. Empey, op. cit.

22) Clyde E. Sullivan and Carrie Street Bush, "Current Programs for Delinquency Prevention," in William E. Amos and Charles F. Wellford, Delinquency Prevention: Theory and Practice, op. cit., pp. 51-72.

23) See Kenneth Polk and Walter E. Schafer, "Schools and Delinquency," op. cit., and Stanley E. Brodsky and Richard D. Knudten, "Strategies for Delinquency Prevention in the Schools," op. cit., for a review of the major issues related to the prevention of delinquency in schools.

IV. EVALUATION AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION PROGRAMS

A. Introduction

In 1975, under a grant provided by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (LEAA), an evaluation of delinquency prevention programs in the U.S. was undertaken by The Center for Vocational Education at Ohio State.[1] The purpose of the evaluation was to provide an information base for policy makers by examining and assessing current strategies of delinquency prevention in use throughout the country. In addition to visiting several statewide and national juvenile delinquency prevention administrative offices, site visits were made to thirty-one active delinquency prevention programs selected from a list of 120 programs reviewed through an extensive phone questionnaire. While a number of criteria[2] were utilized to determine site selection, sites visited were oriented to one of six clusters of intervention strategies: (1) counseling; (2) recreation; (3) police/school community relations; (4) instructional; (5) youth advocacy; and (6) opportunity enhancement. Further, one of the more heavily weighted criteria for site selection was evaluation. Every effort was made to visit sites which claimed formal external evaluations and therefore offered the most potential for gathering systematic information. Despite these cautions there are many limitations to the data as noted by the report itself.

> The current nature of the juvenile delinquency prevention field posed significant implications for this synthesis and assessment. The available data base was primarily qualitative in nature. The study was largely exploratory because little previous research had been performed on the national dimensions of delinquency prevention efforts. Many arbitrary incremental decisions about scope and methodology had to be made as the study unfolded. This project's interpretations of the current state of the art in delinquency prevention are largely inferential. The data base derived from site visits to prevention projects

> is largely subjective because this study's logic and assumptions required site interviewers to focus their attention upon logical linkages within those various projects.[3]

The need for evaluation studies relating to juvenile delinquency prevention cannot be overstated. An examination of the juvenile justice system indicates a decided lack of comprehensive information regarding the effectiveness of prevention programs. The evaluation materials that do exist are generally of poor quality and provide little information on the effectiveness of intervention strategies. Project directors, in many cases are unaware of how to design evaluation measures and generally resort to descriptive accounts of program strategies based largely on "intuitive" measures. The pages below provide a "state of the art" summary of evaluation efforts in delinquency prevention as obtained from the National Assessment of Delinquency Prevention Programs. For purposes of presentation, project efforts are described in terms of the major intervention strategy characterizing the prevention programs.

B. Counseling Programs

Much of the early, and still the most extensive efforts in delinquency prevention focus on changing the individual through some form of counseling or treatment strategies. Because of this orientation emphasis is placed on providing the child with the most appropriate services available in order to forestall or prevent further incidents of delinquent behavior. Evaluation of such programs are almost non-existent and provide little objective data upon which to develop objective conclusions about the effectiveness of counseling as an intervention strategy.

The NEP assessment of juvenile delinquent prevention programs found counseling programs characterized by highly disorganized and inconsistently

structured program elements. Counseling programs are usually "justified" (rather than evaluated) by subjective feelings, values, ideologies, and concepts of the causation of delinquency. The lack of documentation of fundamental assumptions, identification criteria, counseling modalities, and promising evaluations, however, has not hindered funding of counseling programs as is evidenced by the fact that such programs represent the largest single type of delinquency prevention efforts across the country.

C. Recreation

With the expressed purpose of providing recreational and character building activities, recreation program efforts have existed for many years. Although recreation facilities are usually created for the sole purpose of recreation, there is a growing utilization of such activities as a strategy to provide counseling.

Nationally, recreational program elements were generally unsound and not clearly articulated. Methodological rigor was almost non-existent, with a general feeling of "try anything" that belies real program format. Intervention strategies and client identification were loosely constructed at key decision-making points making evaluation procedures difficult, if not impossible.

At the present time, the state of the art of recreational delinquency prevention programs is generally characterized by informality of program structure and function. Recreational practitioners often express anti-theoretical notions which results in limited documentation of program goals and objectives.

D. Police-School-Community Relations

The realization that police and teachers are the two groups most in contact with youth exhibiting delinquent behavior provides the rationale for most police-school-community relations projects. These projects involve police officers in the schools on a regular basis to serve as a model for youth to emulate as well as to serve as an agent of control or authority.

The NEP assessment found incongruencies between the fundamental assumptions and identification of juveniles as well as with the intervention strategies and evaluation procedures, with the latter generally non-existent. While such programs are designed to establish rapport with youth, there are differing interpretations by staff of what activities should be implemented. An examination of these programs indicates the desirability of closer cooperation between schools and police units, since there are problems with organization of duties between the school and the police/school officer. The area of delinquency prevention is relatively new and needs better organization and empirical measurement of stated fundamental assumptions and success criteria.

E. Instructional Programs

The current strategy of instructional programs in preventing delinquency is to focus upon unspecified or unidentified youth rather than to "isolate" those identified as delinquent and direct the intervention efforts solely to these youth. While most such programs are oriented around specific topics associated with the legal system, a sizeable number of instructional programs exist in the form of alternative schools designed for youth who fail in the traditional school setting.

As a cluster of similar projects, all instructional programs assessed by the NEP staff were found to have some measure of congruence between the theoretical base of the project staff and the identification procedures utilized in the projects. In terms of evaluation, success criteria most often involve an assessment of academic skills and/or personal social adjustment.

Although the majority of instructional projects still do not utilize any consistent and respected methodology to assess the effectiveness of their individual programs, the instructional cluster seemed to offer some promising possibilities for further observation, research and assessment. Program element relationships were generally clearer than other cluster projects visited, with the overwhelming weakness related to evaluation.

F. Youth Advocacy Programs

The general emphasis of youth advocacy programs is on societal and institutional reform and/or change in a direction that will reduce conflict and alienation between youth and society. Historically, youth advocacy-type programs, espousing a philosophy that the individual delinquent is far less important than the community influences which lead to delinquency, have existed since the 1920's and 30's with the most notable example being the Chicago Area Project. The effects of these programs have, however, been largely unmeasured because of the difficulties of assessing intervention variables.

Although the majority of project directors state that social institutional ills cause delinquent behavior, they experience difficulty in dealing with those ills and resort to counseling the individual toward adjustive behavior. An important aspect in understanding the difficulties encountered in implementing a youth advocacy program result from the realization that

the nature of the program often results in the alienation of the social institutions within which the youth must live and function. In general, however, it was the assessment of the NEP staff that youth advocacy programs offer much promise in preventing delinquency by reducing the alienation of youth and increasing their access to socially desirable roles.

G. Opportunity Enhancement Programs

During the 1960's much of the delinquency prevention efforts were oriented to the structured inequities of low income neighborhoods as a means of providing legitimate opportunities for the adolescents residing in these areas. Two of the major components of these programs involved job training and remedial education with the intention of displacing inappropriate or illegitimate activities.

Today's programs have, however, departed to some degree from this position. A great deal of emphasis is now placed upon the individual youth's educational and/or social adjustment. An implied assumption is that the youth in the program have experienced dysfunctinoal interactions with their peer groups and the larger society and therefore need a controlled environment for the further social and vocational development.

In terms of evaluation, while success criteria were measured in terms of employability, academic achievement, conformity to rules, and attitudinal change, emphasis was on administrative efficiency rather than behavioral change. Program staff claimed they were unable to develop appropriate intervention strategies to deal with client behavior problems, and therefore relied upon disciplinary measures. This was expecially true in that many of the surrounding communities in which the programs were located were openly antagonistic because of perceived characteristics of the youth involved in these programs.

Because of the inconsistencies between staff assumptions about the causes of delinquency and the intervention strategies utilized by project staffs, careful consideration needs to be given to the development and implementation of such programs in the future. There was little doubt among the NEP staff, however, that opportunity enhancement programs which have as their primary goal the establishment of legitimate opportunities for youth from disadvantaged neighborhoods, need renewed support and direction if they are to be successful in preventing inappropriate behavior.

Summary

An assessment of the above program clusters by the NEP staff found that without exception, efforts at evaluation were either verbalized and/or inadequately executed. In many cases evaluation was non-existent, with few project directors viewing evaluation as a major concern. There were only haphazard designes concerning the intensity of program interventions, with program staff concerned more with the duration of the staff client relationships rather than its intensity. Many project staffs expressed the view that one cannot adequately measure subjective behavior or attitudes, while others claimed that there was not expertise available to execute adequate evaluation.

Overall, however, and in spite of the problems associated with the delinquency prevention clusters described above, the general consensus among members of the NEP staff was that the most promising programs for delinquency prevention are those that utilize some form of advocacy or opportunity strategies (although the need for definitional clarity needs to be carefully addressed) as well as those programs labeled as instructional. The importance of the latter needs to be clearly emphasized. The role of the school in the development of positive identities cannot be discounted. It is through the school that the adolescent develops the skills to enter the industrial

world successfully.

In the following pages, greater attention will be directed to each of these program clusters, pointing out the importance of each strategy for preventing delinquency and enhancing positive youth development.

Notes

1) "The Theory and Practice of Delinquency Prevention in the United States: Review, Systhesis and Assessment," op. cit.

2) Ibid., pp. 135-138.

3) Ibid., p. 128.

V. INSTITUTIONAL APPROACHES TO DELINQUENCY PREVENTION: STRATEGIES AND TECHNIQUES

Because our concern herein is with those strategies that impact on the major socializing institutions for enhancing opportunities and increasing legitimate identities, our discussion will be restricted to those findings associated with programs defined as: (a) instructional; (b) opportunity enhancement; and (c) youth advocacy. It is felt that these three clusters provide the most viable strategies for prevention programs in today's urban communities, and are briefly described below:

> Instruction: Defined as those activities that manipulate given resources and skills to bring about an improved grasp and comprehension from diverse sources. Information may be either formal and/or informal knowledge. It is a strategy that has as its objective an increase in competence for the adolescent and/or those in traditional positions of instruction (e.g. teachers).
>
> Opportunity Enhancement: Defined as those efforts to generate resources that would provide opportunity to acquire and apply given skills. In practice, opportunity enhancement programs involve job training, vocational counceling, job development and job placement activities to increase the life changes of an individual youth. The key concept of these programs is the provision of legitimate opportunity.
>
> Youth Advocacy: Defined as those activities which involve the direct interface with institutions on the behalf of youth. While it may be undertaken for an individual youth, it is usually associated with "class action." Advocacy programs favor changes in organizational structures, procedures and service patterns as well as changes in the legal institutions. Emphasis is on innovative change and effective delivery of services to clients.

A. The Instructional Cluster

In the past, schools, in attempting to deal with delinquency, have frequently isolated the delinquent proglems from the normal context of the school.[1)] Nationally, instructional programs for the most part focus upon

unspecified or unidentified youths (non-targeted) or upon significant others, such as parents or teachers. The content of these programs varies greatly and includes such topics as "the psychological or physiological effects of drug abuse", "laws and legal sanctions", to "communications and problem solving skills." Some of the programs are highly structured while others are developed almost extemporaneously. A sizeable number of instructional programs exist in the form of alternative schools designed for youth who fail in the traditional setting. These schools generally provide individualized instruction in remedial education, and often allow students to engage in areas of special interest. Some of the major characteristics of the instructional programs are described below.

1. Fundamental Assumptions About Delinquency. Although the synthesis of information within the instructional programs is difficult to conceptualize because of the diversity of program and content material offered, most program directors focus upon individual factors as related to delinquency causation. Further, they tend to concentrate on the ability of the student to adjust to the school environment based on the assumption that a teaching/learning process exists within the schools.

2. Identification of Clients. A variety of responses indicate a large number of criteria for the identification of clients. Most often, the identification decisions are made on the basis of judgments about the likelihood of past, present, and future delinquency. Frequently students entering alternative schools are asked to sign a performance contract indicating that they will work on specific academic disciplines in addition to maintaining certain behavioral standards. Identification decisions are usually made by project staff, with some involvement of others within the schools. The majority of the programs in the instructional cluster are not

targeted toward specific youth; more often, they involve total school populations or particular grade levels within schools.

Some evidence is beginning to exist for considering certain alternative schools as "dumping grounds." Many behavioral problems are transported from one setting to another and housed together. Often staffed by young, seemingly dedicated but inexperienced teachers, the question of the quality of education in certain alternative schools is also a major consideration. Based on the known effects of placing offenders within the same institutions, the implications of restricting all behavior problems to one setting need to be carefully considered and evaluated.

3. Intervention Techniques. Clients in instructional programs tend to be involved for longer periods of time than in some other types of intervention programs; the regular school year schedule accounting for much of the extended duration. Project staffs are seen as the source of most of the day to day decisions, although clients, schools, and parents (others) are also mentioned. Most of the intervention techniques are oriented to the individual adolescent emphasizing counseling, school adjustment and social relations.

4. Evaluation. Success criteria are most often listed as assessments of academic skills and/or personal social adjustment. Other indices of measurement include reduction of crime rates, attitudes toward authority, family cohesion, and school dropout rates. Methodological rigor is generally poor with little understanding of the need for detailed evaluation.

5. Linkages with the Community. Linkages with other agencies in the community tend to be formal in nature and include the juvenile justice and health, and welfare systems. The need for inter-agency coordination and effective linkages with the "world of work" is evident in most programs.

6. Constraints. Expressed constraints within the instructional program cluster are relatively few in number, with indications from practitioners that constraints or problems are issues that are within the programs' abilities to correct. Foremost among the list of constraints are problems related directly to funding level; with staffing difficulties and communication issues with parents and school administrators also noted.

Summary. At one extreme, instructional programs involving groups or classrooms of young people, some of whom may be pre-delinquent or delinquent, offer much promise in avoiding the pitfalls of the labeling process and/or a negative self-fulfilling prophecy. On the other hand, instructional delinquency prevention programs in the form of alternative schools are of much concern.

Illustrative of promising and highly transferable programs within the instructional cluster are representatives of nearly 350 law and education programs, guided by professional consultation from the American Bar Association. These programs typically take the form of curricula components introduced at literally all grade levels. The law and education programs reviewed by the National Evaluation Program are soundly based in theory and capable of indicating the transference of cognitive knowledge to youth in a classroom setting. Much evaluative work remains, however, to measure the impact of this knowledge upon juvenile delinquency.

B. Opportunity Enhancement

As noted earlier, opportunity enhancement programs grew in number during the 1960's in response to the Great Society Programs of the Kennedy/Johnson era. The emphasis was on providing educational and vocational opportunities for disadvantaged youth.[2)] Job Corp, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and many similar opportunity enhancement programs have existed for over a decade,

funded primarily through the Department of Labor. Although characteristics of the targeted audience differ, the programs function very similarly. Employing strategies of vocational testing and counseling, vocational training and skill development, job development and placement, many programs across the country utilize opportunity enhancement as secondary strategies, often complemented by counseling, instructional and youth advocacy activities.

1. Fundamental Assumptions. An important area of difference between today's opportunity enhancement programs and such programs as they were originally conceived reflects the underlying fundamental assumptions. From the writing and influence of Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, the original programs were based on the belief that society hampered access to legitimate opportunities or that legitimate opportunities in fact, did not exist. These assumptions led to the creation of viable legitimate opportunities for youth with the intention of displacing inappropriate or illegitimate activities. Today's opportunity enhancement administrators and staffs, however, have departed somewhat from this position. A great deal of emphasis is now placed upon the individual youth's dysfunctional educational or social adjustments.

An implied assumption is that the youths in the program have experienced dysfunctional interactions with their peer groups and the larger society and therefore need a controlled environment for their further social and vocational development. The objectives of these programs are: (a) to place the juveniles in a closed, controlled environment, (b) to teach basic academic and vocational skills, (c) to employ controlled methods daily in order to mold juveniles to be responsive to authority, and finally, (d) to place the youth in a paying job at the end of the training program.

2. Identification of Clients. It is particularly interesting to note

that in the opportunity enhancement cluster, identification involves rather marked screening mechanisms. The process is formal in nature and decisions for entry into the programs involve clients, project staff, and adherence to funding source requirements. Among the most important decision processes utilized, are primary screening mechanisms at employment offices, an orientation period in the program after which a client could drop out, and a highly selective interview system which resulted in those clients with the most promise of completing the program being accepted. As in other prevention programs across the country, there exists a "skimming" process in practice which disallows services to many youth who may be more potentially delinquent.

3. Intervention Techniques. Clients involved in the opportunity enhancement programs are generally perceived as having inadequate vocational and social skills and in need of controlled environmental settings. Strategies include job training, skill development, academic instruction, counseling, recreation and job placement.

4. Evaluation. Based upon the measurements of academic achievement, methodological rigor rated poorly. Although the criteria that are measured include reading, mathematics, and occupational skills, they are not executed in terms of any statistical research design. No data are available concerning attitudinal or behavioral changes, or subsequent follow-up employment status.

5. External Linkages with Community. The strongest external linkage is with those employment service agencies which screen applicants for referral to the programs. Only minimal contact is maintained with the community at large, with the NEP staff finding some apprehension on the part of the community because of the perceived characteristics of the youths served

by the programs.

6. Constraints. Opportunity enhancement programs have taught practitioners and theoreticians that many communities lack the commitment necessary to devote greater energies and resources toward the expansion of legitimate opportunities for youth as is noted in the literature. Reflecting this fact, there exists a high degree of antagonism between the opportunity enhancement programs visited by NEP staff and the surrounding communities, which impairs the establishment and maintenance of community linkages.

Summary. The opportunity enhancement area of delinquency prevention has shifted its fundamental causation assumptions and, therefore, treatment methods from societal to individualistic. The tone of intervention is a closed, somewhat isolated environment wherein individuals are "preparing" to meet the world of work. Since there is client selectivity in the identification process, the programs do not serve juveniles for which the programs were originally intended. The programs do not, however, now state that delinquency prevention is a major goal. They function to provide vocational educational opportunities for a selected group of lower socioeconomic youth, and will have to broaden their scope if they are to serve as delinquency prevention strategies.

C. The Youth Advocacy Cluster

The programs included under the rubric of youth advocacy focus their efforts upon the social and cultural conditions which affect the institutional patterns as well as the social/cultural and ecological relations that take place within these institutions. The emphasis of youth advocacy programs, in general, is on societal and institutional reform and/or change in a direction that will reduce anomie, culture conflict, and aliena-

tion. Thus, many traditional operating procedures of social institutions are currently being challenged by youth advocacy organizations. Certain groups have been successful in eliminating corporal punishment in public schools, while the related issues of public school suspensions and expulsions are presently under scrutiny.

Youth advocacy is a term that has become a popular "buzz word" used by many practitioners in the last half decade. Few, however, seem to share an understanding of its meaning. For this reason, the youth advocacy cluster was slightly oversampled for site visitation. In actuality, even with the oversampling, only one program visited exhibited a true "class action" approach to youth advocacy, although several programs focused on legal or medical youth advocacy.

All of the projects visited were involved in counseling, with few performing youth advocacy functions, i.e., interfacing institutions on behalf of the juvenile. The settings in which one finds those programs labeled as "youth advocacy" vary markedly. There are runaway homes, walk-in crisis counseling homes, outdoor wilderness programs, programs involving behavior modification techniques, and large scale multifaceted programs executing class action advocacy.

1. Fundamental Assumptions. Most program directors assume that delinquency results from the structural defects and dysfunctional aspects of the social institutions, especially within the family and school settings.

2. Identification of Clients. The elements most often mentioned as criteria for identifying clients are overt behavior, ascribed characteristics, parental consent, likelihood of present delinquency, voluntary participation, adherence to rules, and existence of past delinquency. Decisions for entry into the programs are usually both formal and informal in nature.

The screening processes of the various programs range from walk-in acceptance of client, to family, staff, and significant others engaged in establishing entry criteria.

3. Intervention Techniques. The majority of intervention strategies and activities within the youth advocacy cluster place emphasis on aiding the individual to cope with economic problems and difficulties. The duration of the intervention process varies from one to ten days in the case of crisis counseling or walk-in runaway homes, to over ninety days in the case of group homes or legal advocacy case involvement. The intensity of the intervention ranges from a casual drop-in-counseling situation to an intense daily behavior modification program which involves months of contact.

4. Evaluation. Success criteria in the youth advocacy cluster are generally related to assessments of program and staff reporting, client and family self-assessments, and absence of further problems. Evaluative decisions are made primarily by project staff and methodological rigor is generally poor in most cases. An important aspect of evaluation is the reliance on random opinions which pertain to program objectives rather than effects, either long or short term, on clients. In the cases of crisis counseling, walk-in counseling or runaway homes which serve as mediators for juveniles, there are little or no follow-up evaluations of program effects.

5. Linkages with the Community. External linkages in advocacy programs are certainly advantageous due to the "mediator" position assumed by advocacy thrusts. However, linkages in this cluster are minimal and quite formal, usually divided among the juvenile justice system, health and welfare, education, and some community agencies. The external linkages

are usually weighted more heavily on the initial referral end of the continuum, rather than at the intervention or evaluation follow-up stages.

6. Constraints. In the youth advocacy cluster, constraints are as numerous and varied as the programs themselves. Funding is most often mentioned but there is also a preponderance of political problems. For example, problems of communication between the program staffs and the community in relation to class action kinds of advocacy pose a major constraint. Another major constraint mentioned is the problem of having to obtain parental consent in cases of overnight stays in crisis periods or in temporary shelter care situations. Evaluation problems are, of course, considered as major constraints both from the aspect of need for methodological and staffing expertise.

Summary. The concept of youth advocacy offers much promise in preventing delinquency by reducing alienation of youth and increasing their access to socially desirable roles. At present however, the concept suffers from a lack of definitional clarity in the field. For youth advocacy programs to become effective it is necessary for project staff to become politically powerful and persuasive. This is the only means by which they can function and simultaneously guarantee their continued existence. Often times it is necessary for programs to enlist the services of influential volunteers to perform the actual scope of work and frequently legal services (attorneys) are permanent staffing components.

The majority of advocacy programs state that social institutional ills cause delinquent behavior, but they experience difficulty in dealing with those ills and resort to counseling either with the individual or his/her family. An important insight into the difficulty of implementing a youth advocacy program is the realization that the nature of the program often

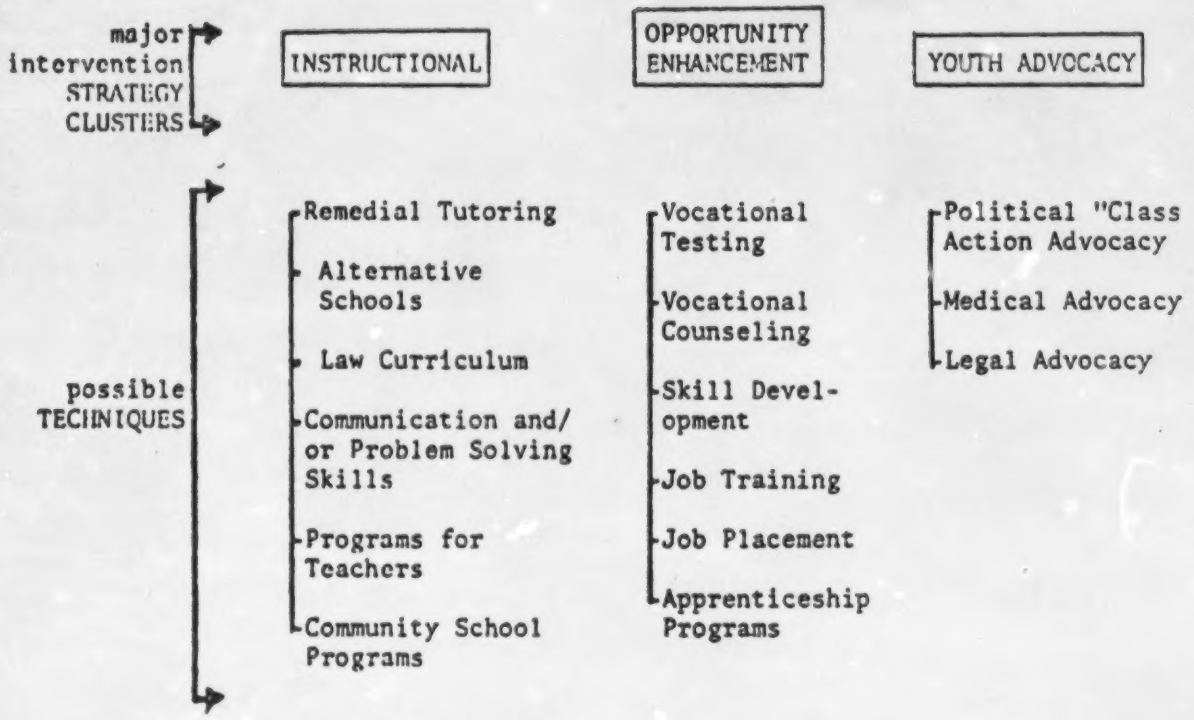
results in the alienation of the social institutions, within which youth must live and function. Indeed, the activities of a true youth advocacy program may even alienate the source of program operating funds.

D. Summary

The above discussion summarizes some of the major findings derived from an assessment of delinquency prevention programs nationally. A diagram of the three clusters and the kinds of programs associated with each cluster is shown below. While the discussion was restricted to those strategy clusters that are oriented to institutional change and/or services, it is clear that individual counseling is still relied upon extensively. The reasons for this are many, but the inability of project directors to affect significant and long-term change in the primary socializing institutions is most evident. Yet it is these institutions which most affect the structure and pattern of the total adolescent experience. Legitimate identity among young people is clearly more likely to occur if they have a stake in conformity within the primary socializing institutions. Based on this premise, it is important that delinquency prevention programs expand the opportunities for youth within these institutions, while minimizing those practices that deny to large numbers of adolescents socially acceptable, responsible and personally gratifying roles.

INSTITUTIONAL STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES for
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PREVENTION:

(A Conceptual Summary of the JDP/NEP)*



* Used by NEP staff to define categories of prevention projects from which to sample for site visitation, strategies and techniques listed are not exhaustive nor necessarily mutually exclusive. The above diagram does not include three additional categories: counseling, recreation and police/school community relations.

Notes

1) See Kenneth Polk and Walter E. Schafer, (eds.), Schools and Delinquency (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972).

2) "Task Force Report on Juvenile Delinquency," op. cit., pp. 353-408.

of a national character over which program directors have little control. For example, the continued transition of large cities from manufacturing to service economies, coupled with the outflow of manufacturing and retail jobs to the suburbs has led to higher rates of urban unemployment that is many times reflected in family and personal disorganization. The importance of this process for delinquency prevention is voiced by Spergel who argues that:

> ...there are larger environmental or societal determinants which must be recognized as basically but not necessarily more directly causative of delinquency [such as] relative level of income, mobility of residents, race, and certain larger policy and cultural constraints.[1)]

B. Theoretical Issues: Changing Individuals Versus Conditions

One of the most obvious dichotomies in the field of delinquency prevention derives from those practitioners who view delinquency from the perspective of the actor in constrast to those who focus on the conditions or factors to which the individual is exposed (socialized). Each of these perspectives has direct consequences for the kinds of prevention activities that are undertaken; the former usually emphasizing treatment of the individual; the later, reform of the social institutions to which the individual is exposed. Either perspective to the exclusion of the other may result in too narrow a focus as noted by Richard Cloward:

> The tendency to define the source of many social problems in essentially individualistic terms rather than to focus as well on the way in which institutional inadequacies generate these problems has led us to become too preoccupied with rehabilitation. We have tended to behave as if problems of delinquency, dependency, illegitimacy, and the like can be solved in essentially rehabilitative terms.[2)]

While Cloward's comments are directed toward those perspectives that are essentially "individual oriented," the criticism applies as well to those

perspectives that do not deal with individual differentiation or responsibility, or with the legal rules that define certain behaviors as "deviant" in the first place.[3] Sociology, for example, has traditionally minimized the role of personality in the causal explanation of crime and has placed the primary emphasis on the cultural and/or social environment.[4]

This relationship between theory and social policy is noted by Polk and Kobrin who argue that the tendency in the past has been to search for the "causes" of crime and then to define prevention in terms of the programs that were addressed to these causes.[5] In their analysis the authors argue for an approach that specifies how legitimate rather than illegitimate goals are realized. Delinquency prevention, they argue, should give priority to institutional reform rather than individual change. For them, both as a practical and strategic matter:

> the approach to the problem of adolescent deviance, and to delinquency prevention and control, must focus on institutional malfunction.[6]

Based on this approach, efforts would be directed toward restructuring the existing institutions while discarding those features that tend to foster delinquent behavior and identities. Polk and Kobrin's analysis is important not because it emphasizes the need for policy-makers to consider those features that provide positive rewards and identities to the adolescent, but because it argues for the development of prevention programs firmly anchored to an institutional base in which most adolescents interact - for their purposes this is the school.[7]

C. The Degree of Neighborhood Cohesion

One of the major factors to consider in the development and implementa-

tion of any prevention programs at the neighborhood level is the degree of cohesion that exists. During the last forty years most American cities have been subjected to important economic and cultural changes that raise serious doubts about the existence of any "uniformity of interests" or "communal purpose." Racial conflicts, neighborhood deterioration and high rates of mobility are only manifest examples of widespread political and economic conflicts in many large cities, and must be given serious consideration prior to the development of any delinquency prevention program. In this respect, Spergel again notes that:

> Action programs during the era of the Great Society attempted to apply opportunity theory at the community level, but the idea of community was overgeneralized, making it equivalent to social environment or societal structure. It did not clearly identify different organizational sectors, their components and inter-relationships.[8]

Given the wide variations of neighborhoods throughout the country, it is vital for policy-makers to provide the mechanisms for resident input as to what problems should be given priority in any prevention program. Further, residents must have an active role in the policy-making decisions rather than just an advisory one. If delinquency prevention programs are to succeed, they must be integrated into community activities rather than developed in isolation from neighborhood residents and/or agencies.

D. Early Intervention Versus Non-Intervention

In the field of delinquency prevention, many individuals have argued that it is possible to delineate the path of behavior that an individual will take over a period of time, and therefore increased attention should be directed to those adolescents who are "potentially delinquents." The

rationale for early identification resides in the notion that once a potential delinquent has been identified, some action has to follow. The nature of the activities will vary from non-intervention to active intervention and treatment.

The attempts at early identification and prediction of predelinquency have not been without criticism from both an empirical and ethical level of analysis.[9] Thus, the President's Commission in 1967 advocated that prediction studies of individual cases should be approached with caution and concern for:

> Inherent in the process of seeking to identify potential delinquents are certain serious risks--most notably that of the self-fulfilling prophecy.[10]

Additional arguments against attempts at predicting delinquency gain their impetus from the growing philosophy of "non-intervention" verbalized by many practitioners, and formalized by Edwin Schur as "radical non-intervention" which:

> implies policies that accommodate society to the widest possible diversity of behaviors and attitudes rather than forcing as many individuals as possible to adjust to supposedly common standards.[11]

The belief that early intervention may not only be a negative activity, but an inefficient one is not without empirical evidence. Recent studies by Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin,[12] as well as by the present author indicate that only a small number of adolescents become chronic offenders and that most have no arrests as adults.[13] Official interventions in contrast to positive youth development strategies prior to the onset of delinquency would therefore be both costly and ineffective.

E. Prevention as Reinforcement of Positive Activities.

During the 1960's with the publication of Richard Cloward's and Lloyd Ohlin's Delinquency and Opportunity, and the direction that the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency pursued, greater emphasis was placed on enhancing the opportunities of the large numbers of inner-city youth who were seen as most vulnerable to delinquency. Programs like Mobilization for Youth were established and funded in several large cities, with the prime goal of changing those conditions viewed as most conducive to delinquency. Supported by the political themes of the "New Frontier" and "The Great Society," government spent millions of dollars to provide the large numbers of disadvantaged youth with a place at the ever-expanding economic trough. That such promises were never fully realized need not be repeated at this time.

Since the 1960's, greater emphasis has been directed toward the concept of prevention as a reinforcement of positive attitude and the development of positive goals rather than the prevention of a wide range of juvenile behaviors, many of which would not lead to an arrest if committed by an adult.

Summary

Given the political and economic constraints that impact on the development and implementation of delinquency prevention programs, priority should be given to the expansion of legitimate opportunities and identities in the primary socializing institutions. Linkages between the school, the world of work and the family need to be strengthened and encouraged. Increased inter-agency coordination between the schools and neighborhood agencies can result in significant changes for both the school and the

neighborhood.

Further, because of the overwhelming evidence that shows that most adolescents "phase out of delinquency," program strategies should consider those adolescents who according to Spergel are:

> ...most in need of the services and opportunities required for the development of their personal, social, educational and vocational skills. Social agencies, schools, special projects, and the employment market must provide the fullest and most qualitative support to these youths.[14]

Finally, the primary efforts at delinquency prevention through institutional strategies should be directed toward the large urban areas where the rates of unemployment and underemployment, especially among teen-agers, have become endemic. It is these same areas where the rates of high-school dropouts are most excessive, and where delinquency is most serious. The interdependence between school failures, high unemployment rates and juvenile delinquency cannot be ignored. Further, the continued impact of high taxes and crime rates in the large urban cities has had a major impact on the economic climate in these areas. While prevention programs may not be able to generate additional jobs they may forestall further migration of manufacturing and retail businesses out of the urban cities.

Notes

1) Irving Spergel, op. cit., pp. 87-88.

2) Richard A. Cloward, "Social Problems, Social Definitions, and Social Opportunities," in Readings in Changing Interpretations of Behavior, Robert Schasre and Jo Wallach (eds.), Los Angeles: Youth Studies Center, University of Southern California, May 1965, pp. 24-51.

3) Edwin Schur, "Radical Non-Intervention," op. cit., p. 111.

4) David Matza, "Delinquency and Draft," op. cit., p. 17.

5) Konneth Polk and Solomon Kobrin, "Delinquency Through Youth Development," op. cit.

6) Ibid., p. 6.

7) Ibid., pp. 11-12.

8) Irving Spergel, op. cit., pp. 57-58 (my emphasis).

9) See William Amos and Charles F. Wellford, "Delinquency Prevention: Theory and Practice", op. cit.

10) "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society," op. cit., p. 59.

11) Schur, "Radical Non-Intervention," op. cit., p. 154.

12) Marvin E. Wolfgang, Thorsten Sellin, and Robert E. Figlio, "Delinquency in a Birth Cohort," op. cit.

13) Albert P. Cardarelli, "Socio-Economic Status, Delinquency, and Adult Criminality in a Birth Cohort," op. cit.

14) Irving Spergel, op. cit., p. 306.

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